

Message Text

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ORIGIN EUR-12

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TO USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

S E C R E T STATE 123856

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: NATO, PORG

SUBJECT: ALLIANCE EAST-WEST STUDY -- MAY 16 NAC MEETING

REFS: (A) USNATO 4828 (B) STATE 119863 (C) STATE 110029
(D) USNATO 4622 (E) STATE 111032

1. WE CONCUR WITH THE GENERAL INTRODUCTORY APPROACH
PROPOSED BY THE MISSION IN REFTEL A. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE
IT WOULD BE PREMATURE TO SUGGEST AS A COMPROMISE
AT MAY 16 NAC MEETING LISTING ALTERNATIVE VIEWS ON
CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES. TINE HAS ALLEGED THAT HE WILL
BE WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS AND WE CAN THEREFORE EXPECT
HE WILL BE AT LEAST AS DIFFICULT AS USUAL. FURTHER,
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WHILE WE MIGHT ULTIMATELY BE FACED WITH CHOICE OF A
CONSENSUS OF THE LEAST DESIRABLE, OR PERMITTING FRENCH
DISCORD WITH ALLIANCE POLITICAL--IN ADDITION TO MILITARY--
POLICY TO BE DISPLAYED AT THE SUMMIT, WE BELIEVE
WE HAVE NOT YET EXHAUSTED THE IMPACT ON THE FRENCH OF
THE GENERAL UNITY OF THE FOURTEEN ALLIES. THE MINIMUM
MESSAGE WHICH WE WOULD LIKE TO TRY TO HAVE CONVEYED

TO THE QUAI AT THIS POINT IS THAT IT CONTINUES
TO BE IN FRENCH INTEREST TO RESPOND WITH

ATTEMPTS OF THEIR OWN TO ACHIEVE ALTERNATIVE LANGUAGE,
RATHER THAN TO FORWARD WORDING ON WHICH COMPROMISE
CANNOT BE REACHED. FRENCH HAVE COME A LONG WAY SINCE
LAST SUMMER, WHEN THEY WERE WARY NOT ONLY OF PART III,
BUT OF SUBSTANTIVE STUDY AS WHOLE, AND PRESUMABLY
NOW HAVE A VESTED INTEREST, CORRESPONDING TO THAT OF
OTHER ALLIES, TO HAVE ALLIED ACCORD DEMONSTRATED ON
ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO THEM.

2. IN VIEW OF EXCEEDINGLY SHORT PERIOD LEFT, MISSION
SHOULD SEEK TO HAVE ANOTHER NAC, OR SPC, MEETING THIS
WEEK WHERE ALL ALLIES WOULD SPEAK UNDER INSTRUCTIONS.
IN ITS REPORT OF MAY 16 NAC MEETING, WE WOULD ALSO
APPRECIATE MISSION VIEW OF VALUE OF HIGH LEVEL APPROACH
TO QUAI ON SUBSTANCE OF SUCH A MEETING.

3. MISSION SHOULD CONTINUE TO AVOID QUESTION OF
UNCLASSIFIED VERSION OF PART III PER PARAGRAPH FIVE
OF REFTEL C. MISSION SHOULD, IN PARTICULAR, AVOID ANY
DISCUSSION OF DECLASSIFICATION OF PART III, OR PARTS
I AND II, WHICH COULD PRECIPITATE ALLIED MOVE TOWARDS
BLANCHING OF STUDY. MISSION VIEWS WOULD BE APPRECIATED
ON POSSIBILITY OF RELEASING LENGTHY, SANITIZED VERSION
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OF PART III.

4. FOLLOWING IS REQUESTED GUIDANCE ON SPECIFIC
PARAGRAPHS OF PART III (REFTEL D) INCLUDING AMENDMENT
PROPOSED BY TURKS TO CONCLUDING PARAGRAPH:

A. PARAGRAPH ONE: WE CONCUR WITH MISSION RECOMMENDATION.

B. PARAGRAPH GIVE: WE FAIL TO SEE IMPLICATION
EARLIER IN THIS PARAGRAPH OF SOVIET DETERMINATION
AND ABILITY TO RETAIN CONTROL IN EASTERN EUROPE. AS

RECOMMENDED, MISSION SHOULD SEEK TO RETAIN THIS
IMPORTANT STATEMENT OF SITUATION IN EASTERN EUROPE.

C. PARAGRAPH 15: WE CONCUR WITH MISSION VIEW TO
LET FRG CARRY BALL ON BERLIN PARAGRAPH. WE COULD
AGREE WITH BRITISH INSERT ON EFFECT OF 1971 QUADRI-
PARTITE AGREEMENT (QA) ALTHOUGH WE DO NOT FEEL NECESSITY
TO STATE QA HAS "SIGNIFICANTLY" IMPROVED BERLIN SITUATION.
AS APPROPRIATE, MISSION SHOULD PROPOSE FOLLOWING

CHANGES -- WHICH MAY ALSO ALLEVIATE BRITISH CONCERN
POSSIBLY RESULTING FROM CURRENT FIRST SENTENCE:

1) LINE TWO: SUBSTITUTE "POSSIBILITY" FOR "POTENTIAL
RISK".

2) LINE TWO: SUBSTITUTE "IS ALWAYS HIGH" FOR "SEEMS
HIGHEST".

3) LINE EIGHT: INSERT "CONTINUE TO" BETWEEN "ALSO"
AND "MAKE"

D. PARAGRAPHS 18-20: WE CONCUR IN MISSION RECOMMEND-
ATION TO ACCEPT REVISED PARAGRAPH 18 AND TO PRESS FOR
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RETENTION OF PARAGRAPHS 19-20. HOWEVER, PARAGRAPH 20
AT PRESENT LACKS REASON FOR VALUE OF BILATERAL
CONTACT WITH EASTERN EUROPEANS. MISSION MAY MAKE
ANOTHER ATTEMPT TO ADD STATEMENT ON DEVELOPMENT OF
NATIONAL FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICIES (PARAGRAPH 2(H)
OF REFTEL E) BUT MAY THEN DROP PROPOSAL IF ALLIES
CONTINUE TO RESIST.

E. PARAGRAPH 21: WE CONCUR WITH COURSE OF ACTION
PROPOSED BY MISSION.

F. PARAGRAPH 22: AS NECESSARY, MISSION SHOULD SEEK
TO HAVE FRENCH QUERY PARIS ON ACCEPTABILITY OF COMPROMISE
PROPOSED IN PARAGRAPH 36 OF REFTEL B.

G. PARAGRAPH 23:

1) WE COULD AGREE POINT CONCERNING SOVIET MILITARY
POWER PROJECTION WOULD BE COVERED IN REFERENCE TO
ANGOLA AND ETHIOPIA, IF "THE PROJECTION OF SOVIET
MILITARY POWER" WERE SUBSTITUTED FOR "ITS INVOLVEMENT"
IN THAT REFERENCE.

2) WE CONCUR IN MISSION'S VIEW THAT U.S.AVOID ACTIVE
ROLE CONCERNING SECOND BRACKETED SECTION OF THIS
PARAGRAPH.

H. PARAGRAPH 24: WE CONSIDER A POSITIVE STATEMENT
WHICH RECOGNIZES THE ASSETS FOR INFLUENCE WHICH THE
WEST HAS IN THE THIRD WORLD (SUCH AS TEXT LINES 10-13
OF PARAGRAPH 3M OF REFTEL B) NECESSARY TO ROUND OUT

THIS PARAGRAPH. COMPROMISE IS OTHERWISE ACCEPTABLE
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TO U.S.

I. PARAGRAPH 26: WE CONCUR THAT SENTENCE CONCERNING CSCE CONSULTATIONS BE RETAINED. MISSION SHOULD SEEK

TO HAVE ANOTHER ALLY, PERHAPS DANES OR FRG AS PRESENT OR FUTURE EC PRESIDENTS, TAKE LEAD.

J. PARAGRAPH 27: MISSION SHOULD SEEK TO CLARIFY WHETHER FRENCH MIGHT BE LOOKING AT SOVIET SUPPORT OF NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, OR OTHER AGGRESSIVE FORMS OF IDEOLOGICAL COMPETITION, WHEN THEY SPEAK OF "MODERATION OF IDEOLOGICAL COMPETITION", AND ARE THEREBY CONCERNED THAT THE WEST SHOULD NOT BE ENGAGED IN SUCH ACTIVITIES. MISSION MAY PROPOSE FOLLOWING COMPROMISE AFTER CONSULTATION WITH BRITISH, IF IT DEEMS LATTER APPROPRIATE:

QUOTE. ALTHOUGH SOVIET IDEOLOGY ...FOR POLITICAL ENDS. IN THIS SITUATION, ALLIES SHOULD NOT BE DETERRED FROM EMPHASIZING THE PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL VITALITY OF THE WEST WHERE THERE ARE NO BARRIERS TO THE FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION AND IDEAS. THE ONE-SIDED CLAIM OF THE EASTERN COUNTRIES... BY THE COUNTRIES OF THE WEST. MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE MUST MAKE IT PLAIN THAT MODERATION OF SUCH (REPEAT SUCH) IDEOLOGICALLY MOTIVATED COMPETITION IS AN IMPORTANT ASPECT OF DETENTE. UNQUOTE.

K. PARAGRAPH 29:

1) WE ASSUME MISSION WAS ABLE TO INCLUDE REFERENCE TO HARMEL REPORT IN FIRST SENTENCE OF THIS PARAGRAPH.

2) WE UNDERSTOOD "DIVERSITY" TO BE A WORD PROPOSED BY THE FRENCH TO EXTEND TO THE OTHER ALLIES THEIR
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PARTICULAR ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE ALLIANCE. "FREEDOM OF ACTION AND DECISION" WAS, IN OUR VIEW, AN EXPRESSION WHICH INCLUDED BOTH THE FRENCH AND OTHER ALLIED VIEWS ON ALLIANCE COOPERATION. WE BELIEVE INCLUSION OF "DIVERSITY" SHOULD BE BALANCED BY "CLOSE CONSULTATION", E.G.:

QUOTE. EACH ALLY WILL PLAY ITS FULL ROLE IN THIS
PROCESS, IN CLOSE CONSULTATION WITH THE OTHER ALLIES
AND WITH THE DIVERSITY AND FREEDOM OF ACTION AND

DECISION WHICH HAS ALWAYS CHARACTERIZED THEIR APPROACH.
UNQUOTE.

3) 1974 OTTAWA DECLARATION: MISSION SHOULD SEEK TO HAVE
THIS DEFINITIVE STATEMENT ON ALLIED CONSULTATIONS
AND COORDINATION CITED, E.G.:

QUOTE. THE ALLIANCE REMAINS THE MOST EFFECTIVE
FORUM FOR ALLIED CONSULTATIONS ON THOSE MATTERS OF
EAST-WEST RELATIONS WHICH THE 1974 OTTAWA DECLARATION
DEFINES AS WITHIN ITS COMPETENCE. UNQUOTE.

4) WE CONCUR WITH MISSION'S VIEW OF TURKISH REASONS
FOR SEEKING CHANGES. MISSION MAY AGREE TO INSERT
"THE CONSOLIDATION OF" BETWEEN "...ALLIANCE AND" AND
"THEIR SOLIDARITY..." MISSION SHOULD SEEK TO MAINTAIN
"IRREPLACEABLE GUARANTEE", ALTHOUGH WE COULD ACCEPT
"FIRM GUARANTEE" AS FALLBACK. "FOUNDATION" IS UNACCEPT-
ABLE AS IT WOULD IMPLY TURKS-AND OTHER ALLIES-HAVE
ALTERNATIVE BASES FOR THEIR DEFENSE.

5. MISSION SHOULD FULLY SUPPORT PORTUGUESE STATEMENT
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ON "DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES".

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